Human Events YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 23 June 9, 1961 Section I — News

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Europe Meets Kennedy: As the US President sat down with the French President and made ready to confer in Vienna with Khrushchev, Western Europeans were anxiously cautious. "Where is the US going and how fast?"—was the question being asked by European bankers and businessmen, according to a HUMAN EVENTS correspondent's dispatch filed from Zurich, Switzerland, after a canvass of reactions in Western European capitals.

Our correspondent reports that in Paris and Bonn, General Charles de Gaulle and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer fear Khrushchev will "take Kennedy into camp." Beneath the veneer of *politesse* shown President and Mrs. Kennedy in Paris, French government officials were privately referring to the American President as *"le gosse"* ("the kid"). In these two capitals, it is believed that the British, who initially favored the Vienna "summit," are now getting cold feet.

In Bonn, Paris and Zurich—our correspondent says—the financial policies of the Kennedy regime are labeled "the dance of the billions," which is the way Europeans term "wild spending."

Bankers over there have been studying Kennedy's demands for more money in his recent address to the joint session of Congress (May 25); they say it means "more inflation." Several Swiss bankers told our correspondent that they know US Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, regard him as a "shrewd broker," but an "incompetent man of finance." They make no bones about the instability of the dollar: Swiss and German bankers are now supporting the dollar, but without such support, the dollar would sink substantially lower on the international exchanges. (See Capitol Camera below.)

The Swiss bankers—for centuries among the best informed in the world—attribute this plight of the dollar to Kennedy's inflationary fiscal and economic policies, which—they remark—are those of Labor Boss Walter Reuther. There are extensive files on Reuther in the financial houses of Zurich. These Swiss financiers say that only a strong political revulsion by the American people against these dangerous inflationary policies can put an end to this unfortunate situation. Otherwise, they fear, financially the US will approach "the brink."

Tower's Victory: The surprise victory of John G. Tower, Republican, in the Senate by-election in Texas last week might well have been cinched by a popular reaction against Kennedy and the Democratic party because of the disastrous handling of foreign policy —the fiasco of the Cuban invasion, the appeasement in Laos and last but not least the highly unpopular tractors-for-prisoners deal. The margin of Tower's victory was only 10,000 votes out of 900,000 and professional politicos in Texas say that this number might well have fed a "last-minute swell" discernible in the precincts arising from the above-mentioned factors. Kennedy's foreign boo-boos probably pushed Tower over the goal line.

The pros also stress that Tower drew strength from a revolt, building up for about nine months, among conservative Democrats against the Johnson-Rayburn-Daniel machine. This revolt, pros say, began to gather steam last summer when the Democratic National Convention delegates from Texas were ruthlessly hand-picked by Lyndon Johnson—thereby causing no little resentment in the Texas State convention.

The "Texas Tower" victory, stemming from these and other factors, stands out as a "conservative victory"—as described in the article on the subject in Section V.

Ike Blasts Democrats: The ex-President formally ended the "honeymoon" with the Democratic regime last Thursday when he drastically assailed the Kennedy domestic policies and savagely lashed into the new President's wild spending course. He thus gave the word "go" to a big GOP rally in the Capital, including most of the party hierarchy which had obviously been impatiently waiting (for months) for a signal to go all-out on the attack.

No one present doubted that the Ike move arose after careful consultation with party chiefs of all sections of the GOP. Ike thus stilled fears among rank-and-file that he might prolong the honeymoon and thereby weaken the posture of the party.

Instead, the former President went even farther in his denunciation of the Kennedy inflationary policies than anticipated. Departing from the prepared text of his speech at some points, he emphatically vented personal indignation at the unsound financial doings of the New Frontier. "I am getting sick of hearing some people scoff at budget balancing" was one striking "ad-lib."

"Reckless spending, reckless deficit spending must be stopped"—was another. "Immoral" he called such spending and termed it a "cynical" road to "debasing our currency" and to "inflation." "This must stop," he repeated, and said as a result of GOP "preaching," it can be stopped.

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Almost all Kennedy policies suffered the Ike whiplash, including "federalized youth programs" (the Peace Corps). Finally he uttered a ringing tribute to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, whom the White House liberals have sought to blame for the Cuban invasion fiasco.

Another feature, a veiled warning to Nelson Rockefeller: "Those who run too fast into the future sometimes trip over the present." It was noticeable that next to Ike, Senator-elect Tower and Senator Barry Goldwater, who were both present, got the best applause.

Observers believe the revival of Ike as a defender of a stable dollar was carefully planned by GOP party heads over some months. Some say it would not be surprising if he were to lead a country-wide crusade for a sound dollar.

New GOP Chairman: There is strong general approval in conservative Republican ranks over the election of Congressman William E. Miller of New York as the new GOP National Chairman to succeed the popular Thruston Morton.

Although some newsmen write that Miller is a middle-of-the-roader, Capitol Hill railbirds know otherwise. He is a man of strong conservative principles, boasting an ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action) rating of 96 per cent (almost equal to that of Barry Goldwater). As House Republican Campaign Committee Chairman last year, Miller was given no small credit for the net gain of 21 (virtually all conservative) GOP seats. Proof of Miller's vitality came with an admission by Nelson Rockefeller earlier this year that, although the two men didn't often agree politically, Rocky favored Miller for the job because of his ability. It is noteworthy that both Goldwater and Nixon also favored Miller as Morton's successor.

Miller is 47, a World War II veteran and a Catholic. He is highly personable and handles the press smoothly. He is expected to put emphasis on finding young, attractive and articulate congressional candidates, similar to the new crop of conservatives who came to Congress this year.

The two strongest contenders to succeed Miller as Campaign Committee Chairman are John Rhodes of Arizona and Bob Wilson of California (reportedly backed by Nixon). Also in the running are the very capable Melvin Laird of Wisconsin and Gerald Ford of Michigan. All four have strongly conservative records.

Capitol Camera: According to Swiss monetary experts, the real exchange value of the dollar is one to 3.25 Swiss francs. At present it is pegged by Swiss-German support at one dollar to 4.30 Swiss francs. In short, if this support were withdrawn, the dollar could only buy 3.25 Swiss francs instead of the present 4.30.

• *California GOP Congressman James B. Utt in regard to the tractors-for-prisoners deal: "In* 1858 *President Buchanan assembled seventeen men-of-war and* 1900 *men in the harbor of New York and dispatched them to Uruguay to extract an apology from that country for killing an American citizen in a surveying crew on the La Plata River. The apology was forthcoming. Have we grown stronger or weaker, morally and militarily, in the last hundred years?"*

• Liberal Democrat Thomas J. Dodd startled Senate colleagues by voting against the Administration's Federal aid-to-education bill. The Connecticut Yankee pointed out that under terms of the bill his state would receive $15 million over a three-year period, but it would pay into the Federal Treasury a total of $55 million.

• *Deputy Budget Director Elmer B. Staats estimates the Administration's first budget deficit at* $5.6 *billion—twice that estimated by President Kennedy.*

• Theodore C. Achilles, chief of the special State Department unit created to keep an intelligence check on world hot spots, was the subject of a recent congressional investigation. House investigators discovered that while Ambassador to Peru, Achilles' underlings misappropriated $13 million in foreign aid funds.

• *Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas spoke last week in Washington before the "Seminar on the American Character," sponsored by the "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions," an offshoot of the notorious Fund for the Republic. Douglas ridiculed as "cliches" individual initiative and private enterprise.*

• Democratic Congressman Wayne L. Hays of Ohio walked out of a recent House Foreign Affairs Committee meeting, while Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles was testifying, because: "He doesn't know anything and I wouldn't believe what he said anyway. And you can quote me on that."

• *Congressman William Ayres (R.-Ohio) commented on President Kennedy as he gave his second State-of-the-Union address to Congress on May* 25 *—"A worried young man in a hurry."*

• Secretary of the Treasury Dillon has formed an economic advisory group whose chairman is Harvard economist Seymour E. Harris, a disciple of Keynes. Harris, who has been given permission to select the professors who make up the group, has purposely left out Milton Friedman and Arthur F. Burns, two of the leading conservative theoreticians on economics.

Tractor Deal Mess: Last week US Information Agency Director Edward R. Murrow held a press conference in order to soft-pedal adverse reaction to the Administration-instigated tractor deal with Castro. Murrow's line was that Castro was losing much Latin American prestige because of the affair.

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This Murrow line on the tractor fiasco prompted Senator Barry Goldwater to retort: "Murrow got his leaders mixed. It was Kennedy who did the blustering and blundering, and in addition violated the Constitution in the tractor-prisoner trade deal. As far as Cuba is concerned, we must get rid of communism down there and I don't care how we do it.

"The only solution the President has for problems facing our country is to put a man on the moon in ten years. I think the solution is to get a Republican in the White House who understands the threat of communism and will deal firmly with it."

United Nations: The so-called Special Fund of the United Nations recently approved a $1.1 million loan for Fidel Castro's Cuba. Of that amount 40 per cent will be underwritten by the United States. The Soviet Union, in contrast, will make only three per cent of the loan.

Not widely reported in the press was the position taken by the fund's Managing Director, American Paul G. Hoffman, who urged approval of the loan.

The Special Fund, which approves "loans" for underdeveloped countries around the globe, operates on an annual budget of $46.9 million. The US taxpayer pays $18.7 million of this, despite the fact that Uncle Sam has little say as to where the money goes.

Loans are approved by an 18-member governing board (stacked with Communist and pro-Communist nations). Despite popular protests about the Cuban loan, for example, the grant sailed through with no trouble.

School Board vs. Federal Aid: The 300,000 or more state and local school board members the country over have an enormous personal stake in the Federal aid-to-education bills now before Congress. If these bills are defeated, the school boards will retain their present responsibilities and decision-making prerogatives for the elementary and secondary education of American youth. If across-the-board support of education—aid to everything from school construction to teachers' salaries to textbooks—becomes law, Federal controls will eventually make the decision-making prerogatives of the school boards superfluous.

It is likely that the majority of the delegates to the National School Boards Convention in Philadelphia recently had this picture clearly in mind when they voted down resolutions in support of Federal aid to elementary and secondary education, Federal aid to graduate education, Federal aid for the construction of educational television facilities, revision of the Federal school lunch program, and expansion of the National Defense Education Act.

What is needed now—say observers on Capitol Hill—is for individual school board members from coast to coast to take the responsibility delegated to them by American parents for their children and wire or write their Representatives and say that they want to see both the Federal aid to school construction, teachers' salaries, textbooks, etc., bill and the NDEA extension bill defeated. They should also write their Senators in opposition to the NDEA bill still pending before those legislators.

Readers of HUMAN EVENTS could do no better service for conservatism at this time than to contact their state and local school board members and urge them to make their views known. Wires or letters should be sent at once. The time is short!

Federal Control: Officials of the National Education Association-controlled US Office of Education have drawn up confidential plans to transform that bureau into an all-powerful government agency overseeing education at all levels.

The program is outlined in an "Administrative-Confidential" report drafted for Sterling M. McMurrin, Commissioner of Education, by the Office of Education Committee on Mission and Organization headed by Homer D. Babbidge, Jr., Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education. Entitled "A Federal Education Agency for the Future," the report was making the rounds in congressional circles last week.

The report calls for creation of an agency "to monitor all Federal educational activity" and to be called the United States Education Agency.

The new agency would administer "increased financial assistance for teacher education." It would direct "Federal interest in curriculum and improvement of instruction."

Predicting "a new and significant role for the Federal Education Agency" during the Kennedy Administration, the USOE report urges Federal control of "teacher preparation and curriculum matter."

Highway Probe: Democratic Congressman John A. Blatnik of Minnesota, chairman of the Special House Committee to Investigate the Interstate Highway Program, has singlehandedly prevented an investigation into Massachusetts road scandals in order to save President Kennedy from embarrassment, according to GOP members of that committee.

Florida's William C. Cramer, ranking GOP member of the Committee, told HUMAN EVENTS: "For purely partisan reasons, Blatnik has refused to hold hearings on the Bay State situation, easily the most scandalous of any in the nation."

Evidence unearthed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Public Roads, and by a Federal Grand Jury has implicated top Democrats in the state. So serious is the situation that the Bureau of Public Roads more than a year ago cut off all reimbursements to the Massachusetts government.

RALPH D. McLEAN, Director of the Christian Youth Hour: "HUMAN EVENTS is doing a tremendous job for the conservative forces. We pray that your efforts and those of others may yet succeed in turning the tide of events in America."

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Blatnik announced last summer that hearings on Massachusetts would not be held until after the election, to avoid political overtones. No hearings are yet scheduled and the Minnesota Democrat now says he has no idea when—or if—they will be scheduled.

Foreign Aid: Louisiana's "economy" Congressman Otto E. Passman has declared war on the President's proposed $4 billion foreign aid program. Passman is chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. His investigations of the Eisenhower aid programs led to giant cuts in Ike's budget requests.

Passman points out, in letters to his House colleagues, that there are several billion dollars in foreign aid appropriations from previous years that haven't been spent yet.

Passman cites fiscal 1961 as an example. For that year, Congress appropriated $3.7 billion for foreign aid. In addition to that, there was $4.7 billion from previous years that had not been expended. The situation this year is no different.

Electoral Reform: Conservatives and all others who wish to make Presidential elections truly representative of the popular will nationally are urged by Senator Karl E. Mundt (R.-S.D.) to tell members of Congress they back his proposed constitutional amendment to modernize the Electoral College.

The proposal, now in hearings before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, will reach the Senate floor during this session, Mundt assured HUMAN EVENTS, but much help is needed to convince both branches of Congress that the interest stirred by the 1960 election has not died out.

Two-thirds majorities will be needed in both the House and the Senate to submit the amendment to the states. The Kennedy Administration, last year's beneficiary from the present system, is expected to oppose reform.

"Unless we get plenty of help from citizens at large," Mundt said, "there may be another victory for the minority groups that benefit from the outmoded plan under which small majorities in any state—including, of course, the big ones—swing the entire electoral vote of those states to candidates who are not really the choice of the people."

The Founding Fathers didn't intend it to work out that way, but the present system, according to advocates of this reform, is a set-up for the big-city political machines. They have as allies such active minority groups as the leftish Americans for Democratic Action, the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and some ethnic organizations of foreign-born voters.

The Mundt proposal would divide a state's electoral votes largely on the basis of voter support for contestants. It aims to assure elections of Presidents on much the same basis as elections to the national Congress. It would prevent a small majority in New York, for example, from overriding large majorities in a number of states with less population.

Edward R. Murrow: The chief of the United States Information Agency, Edward R. Murrow, recently gave a speech before the National Press Club. The head of the USIA endlessly harangued about the sometimes poor treatment given African diplomats, especially by Washington landlords. Charged Murrow: "It is bad enough that they read headlines of bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the Capital of our nation."

While African diplomats have no doubt had unpleasant experiences in the Capital, Murrow's words painted a much colder picture of Washington hospitality than is accurate.

For one thing, as an assistant to Kennedy's Chief of Protocol Angier Biddle Duke told HUMAN EVENTS, the Africans can "always find housing," although he agrees they have been denied facilities in certain high rent districts. Even so, the State Department recently aided the Africans in finding 12 apartments in plush neighborhoods, but only five Africans chose to live in these particular areas.

The protocol assistant also pointed out that Africans are not the only diplomats subjected to discrimination. "Landlords don't like diplomats generally," he said, "partly because they are immune from legal action."

While more might be done for the African diplomats—and is being done with the cooperation of the real estate agencies in Washington—some are puzzled as to why Murrow publicly and vehemently denounced supposed ill-treatment of the Africans. Moscow will no doubt broadcast his words which will not wear well on the head of an agency which is supposed to give the most favorable impression of America abroad.

Dodd on Geneva: Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D.-Conn.) said last week that, if the Geneva truce talks on Laos break down, the US should back the sending of three SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) divisions, with proper aid and logistical support, into Laos.

Dodd, who recently returned from a trip to Southeast Asia, said that the United States should send "guerrillas in force into [Communist] North Vietnam to equip and supply those patriots already in the field." Dodd said that if the United States continues its present policies on Laos, perhaps all of Southeast Asia will fall to the Reds.

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

I think we have more machinery of government than is necessary, too many parasites living on the labor of the industrious.

—Thomas Jefferson, 1824

Vol. XVIII, No. 23 — Section II

June 9, 1961

Cuba vs. Suez

By Holmes Alexander

WE ARE hearing the Cuban fiasco compared with the Suez loss in 1956, but the former is a great deal worse for us than the latter was for Britain.

The haunting likeness between Cuba and Suez lies in the deadly identity of the two images—John Kennedy and Anthony Eden. Both came to the pinnacle of their careers as handsome, debonair, highly-educated, highly-regarded, just-can't-miss embodiments of skill and vigor. Mr. Kennedy replaced a world figure who was then 70. Eden replaced a world figure past 80. Kennedy arrived with confidence and stirring words. Eden strode in with poise and infinite promise.

Yet both Mr. Kennedy and Sir Anthony went down like hollow men in the first clash. Sir Anthony's career and health disappeared with the bauble called reputation, and today he is a lonely, tragic, forgotten has-been who is writing his memoirs to prove the whole thing was somebody else's fault.

President Kennedy and the country ought to reconsider the thesis of ultimate, unlimited executive power which he has found very fascinating and self-serving. Mr. Kennedy did not think much of the House and Senate. He did not do very well in either, because he found the power too sub-divided by numbers. He yearned to be President, as he has often indicated, because at the White House the responsibility achieves a tall, thin, sky-pointing spire where there is room for only one man.

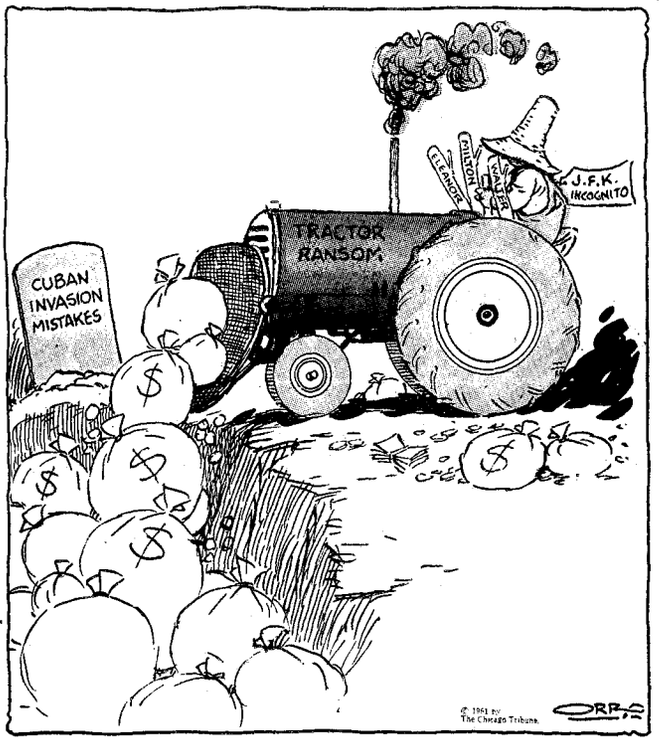
This is the familiar Kennedy thesis. Not long ago we were almost daily being told that the President had read a new book or discovered a new idea on executive power. But I wonder if he has read the Federalist Papers lately. Hamilton and Madison in these classic documents on the Constitution took a lot of pains to explain and stress the danger of accumulated power in any branch of government.

"The accumulation of power, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether one, a few, or many, or whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may be justly pronounced the very definition of tyranny . . . the three great departments of power should be separate and distinct."—(Madison in Federalist No. 47).

"The history of human conduct does not . . . . make it wise in a nation to commit . . . its intercourse with the rest of the world to be the sole disposition of . . . a President . . ."—(Hamilton in Federalist No. 75).

There are many such passages. Today they mean (as they did when written) that there is no need, and no right, for any President to run the show by himself.

THE COVERUP—MYSTERY MAN AT THE CONTROLS



Spreading Unemployment

With unemployment high, resentment in unions against "moonlighting"—workers holding two or more jobs—is getting angrier. A statewide campaign against double jobs is under way in Illinois, and unions are being urged to clamp down on moonlighting.

The right of workers to hold two jobs may become an issue at a special United Auto Workers convention this month. A resolution prepared for the meeting on 1961 auto demands urges that all new contracts provide:

"No employee . . . may work for another employer or be self-employed in the trade. Nor will the company hire any employee who is working for another employer, and, upon such violation, the employee will be considered an automatic quit."

Efforts to curb moonlighting have been made in the UAW several times in the past. They ran into stubborn resistance from workers who have found it profitable—and often easy—to double in auto plant jobs.

"We ought not to be too upset when one of these countries vanishes behind the Iron Curtain."

"We ought to stop overstressing the Communist conspiracy."

—Adlai Stevenson.

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HUMAN EVENTS SUMMER CONFERENCE

REGISTRATION FORM

The Conference fee, which includes luncheon and dinner on both Friday and Saturday, is $75 per person and $40 for additional members of the same immediate family—wives, sons, daughters. The $40 rate will also apply to students, teachers, clergymen and members of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI). Fees will be refunded to persons unable to attend for any reason whatsoever.

Hotel accommodations and breakfast are extra. Special room rates at the Mayflower Hotel have been arranged. Singles are priced at $10; doubles at $15. Every room is air conditioned.

Friday Menu Preference

Name ..... ☐ Meat ☐ Fish
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Enclosed is my check or money order in the amount of $..... to cover the Conference fee at $75 per person, and $40 for additional members of the same family.

In the listing of tentative subjects below, I have placed numbers (1 thru 7) to indicate the order of my preference.

☐ Communism
☐ Labor Problems
☐ Federal School Aid
☐ Foreign Aid
☐ Medicare
☐ Area Redevelopment
☐ 1962 Campaign

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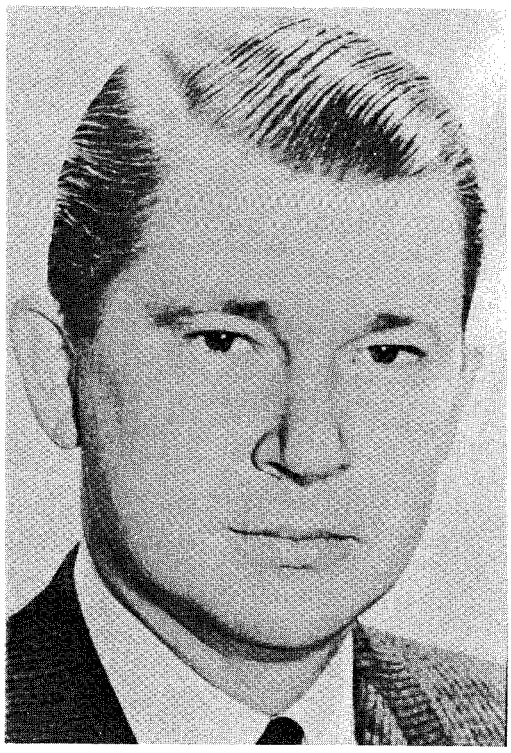
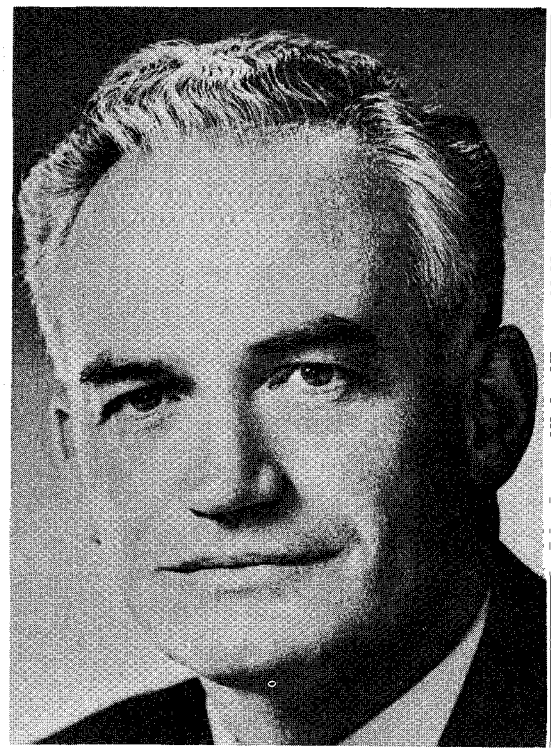


JOHN G. TOWER
Newly Elected Republican
Senator from Texas



BARRY M. GOLDWATER
Senator from Arizona

CONFERENCE HALL
The Mayflower Hotel

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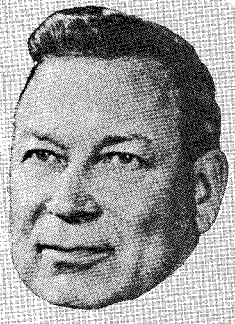
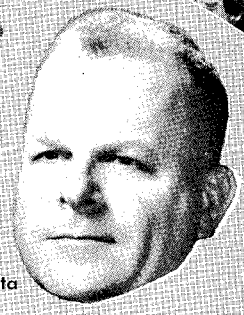
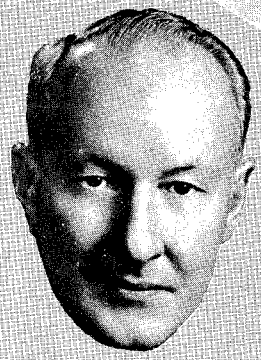


ROMAN L. HRUSKA
Senator from Nebraska

E. Y. BERRY
Representative from South Dakota



HENRY C. SCHADEBERG
Representative from Wisconsin



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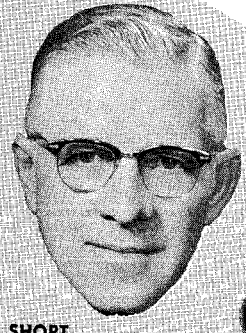
Representative from California



DON L. SHORT
Representative from North Dakota

JAMES F. BATTIN
Representative from Montana

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ADMIRAL BEN MOREELL,
USN (Ret.)

CONFERENCE KEYNOTER

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Remember General Zwicker?

From the Cincinnati Enquirer

In a particularly noteworthy letter on this page recently, Mrs. Margie B. Ross, an Enquirer reader, drew a remarkable parallel between the cases of Brigadier General Ralph Zwicker and Major General Edwin A. Walker.

General Zwicker became the center of a controversy nine years ago when he declined to explain the promotion of Army Captain Irving Peress, despite Peress' refusal to sign a loyalty oath, despite the fact that Peress had been identified as a working member of the Communist conspiracy.

General Walker is commanding general of the 24th Infantry Division who has been relieved of his command pending an inquiry into charges that he has used materials prepared by the John Birch Society in indoctrinating the troops of his command.

For "standing up" to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, General Zwicker became a hero in the eyes of the nation's liberals. For seeking to alert his troops to the nature of the enemy, General Walker has become the darkest and most reprehensible kind of villain.

The Zwicker-Walker parallel is a particularly striking one. But Mrs. Ross could have written about dozens of others—all of which reflect the undeviating inclination of the nation's bleeding hearts to [worry] far more about anti-communism [than] even about communism itself. In these liberal quarters, there is nothing more menacing, nothing more destructive, nothing more despicable than a determination to fight international communism with something more than a barrage of weasel words and cream puffs.

Enemy Propaganda Mail

By Congressman Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio.)

Soviet Russia and its satellites are taking unfair advantage of the international postal agreements not only by censoring and refusing to deliver mail from outside, but also by using the mails for unmarked and unsolicited propaganda. In one year the Customs Bureau conducted a check that revealed more than 7,000,000 pieces of mail addressed to Americans from Iron Curtain countries, received in New York City alone. Last year a check in New Orleans revealed 300,000 packages of second class mail received from behind the Iron Curtain.

The White House recently called off a 12-year program of spot checking this mail on the grounds that it was of little effect and might interfere with State Department "efforts to improve cultural exchanges with communist countries."

In my opinion the President should announce to the Universal Postal Union that we will no longer honor the reciprocal agreement with nations that misuse the mails for propaganda, nor with any nation that censors or refuses to deliver mail dispatched from the United States.

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Prestige Polls

The so-called prestige polls—to determine what foreigners think of the US—have been abandoned, said Edward R. Murrow, United States Information Agency Chief, to the National Press Club on May 24. Foreign policy should not be conducted by holding up a wet finger to the wind, said the Kennedy aide.

Voters will remember that somebody in USIA leaked to Kennedy early in the campaign the results of such polls abroad which showed American prestige declining in some areas. Kennedy offered this as one of the reasons why voters should repudiate the Eisenhower Administration. But now US prestige is declining abroad faster than it ever did under Eisenhower; therefore, Ed Murrow and Company have decided there must be no such polls.

The Cost of Creating Jobs

By Congressman Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.)

Jobs depend upon the investment of somebody's money. On a nation-wide average, each new job created requires an investment of $30,000 in plant and equipment. It is estimated that by 1970, American industry will be called upon to provide at least 20% more jobs than exist today. This will entail an investment of some $400 billion. That amount of money can never be accumulated through debt financing and retained earnings alone. Most of it must come from private investors in company stock with a confidence in the future of America under a free enterprise system. That is why I am going to oppose President Kennedy's recommendation for the repeal of the 1954 partial relief from double taxation.

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HUMAN EVENTS
-- What YOU Can Do --

The deterioration of every government begins with the decay of the principles of which it was founded.

—Charles de Montesquieu
The Spirit of the Laws, VIII

Vol. XVIII, No. 23 — Section III June 9, 1961

Senate Roll Call on Federal Aid to Education

Now is the Time to Write Your Representative

WRITE your Senators about their stand on Federal aid to education. The address is: Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. The bill is S. 1021. The Senate passed the bill by a vote of 49 to 34.

Write a letter of commendation to those Senators who stood up against the Administration, the labor-liberal forces and the National Education Association lobby. These powerful blocs threatened them with dire punishment when they come up for re-election. A vote against required great political courage.

Those who voted in favor of Federal aid should receive from you a letter of disapproval.

Write those letters TODAY!

The official count—those who answered yea or nay to the roll call—was 49 to 34. However, a full understanding requires that you take into consideration those paired for and against, and those announced for and against. If a Senator is absent from the Capitol because of illness or for some other reason, he is either paired with an absentee on the other side of the question or with someone who is present but agrees to withhold his vote. Pairs do not count in the total results but do cancel out. When it is impossible to arrange a pair, an absentee's stand will be announced.

Considering all these factors, a switch of eight votes in the Senate would have reversed the outcome and killed the bill. All of those eight votes could have been obtained from the South. Nine Senators out of the 22 from the 11 Solid South States voted for or were paired for the education bill. Or the entire eight votes could have been obtained from the 10 Republican Senators who voted in favor of Federal aid or were paired for it.

The education bill in the House of Representatives will be known as H. R. 7300. It can be defeated there *if enough persons like YOU* get on the telephone and make personal calls to persuade voters back home to write their Representatives. Act TODAY!

There are two special groups of Congressmen for this roll call. One is from the South; the other is from the Big Cities.

There are 99 Democrats from the 11 Solid South States. Twenty of these are liberals—intending to vote for Federal aid to education unless your letters frighten them out of their normal position. There are roughly 50 others who intend to vote against the bill. These are the conservatives in the Southern delegations.

The remaining Southerners—roughly 30 in number—constitute the "swing vote." They have moderate or conservative inclinations but are now being subjected to so much pressure from the Administration that about 20 may crack and vote in favor of Federal aid. These members are being promised projects in their home districts, bigger defense orders, Federal judgeships—and every other conceivable bribe. If the Administration can collect 20 of those middle-of-the-road Southerners—added to the 20 outright Southern liberals, the NEA will be very, very close to victory.

Even with those two blocs of 20 votes from the South, there is still a possibility of defeating it.

There are roughly 100 Democratic Congressmen in the North representing big-city districts with heavy Roman Catholic populations who today are worrying about their vote. Big-city Northern Democrats usually are dependable left-wingers who obey the labor and city bosses. But their Catholic constituents right now are subjecting them to a mail barrage that is giving them the shakes.

Many Catholics are opposed to Federal aid to education whether Catholic schools are included or not. They fear Federal control. They write "VOTE AGAINST." Period!

Other Catholics are writing letters declaring that IF there is to be Federal aid, such aid must include Catholic schools. A great many in this category refuse to be put off with "promises" that aid to parochial schools will be given at a later date. They refuse to be placated with the plea: "Allow us to get the principle of Federal aid established now and we guarantee that you'll get your share later." These Catholics are insistent that at least a small amount—to set the precedent—must be given to parochial schools FROM THE OUTSET. "FROM THE OUTSET" has become the slogan of the group. They reject the promise that separate proposals will be later introduced providing for Federal loans for school construction and other purposes. They know that such separate proposals would have little chance of passage and they don't like being played for suckers.

Realizing the peril, the NEA, the labor and liberal bosses are working as never before to hold the big-city congressional bloc in line. There will be big-city defections, but the number cannot be estimated at this time and there may not be enough of them to defeat the bill.

About 35 of the 174 Republican members of the House are classified as liberals. Whether all of the

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35 vote for Federal aid depends upon MAIL FROM HOME.

If you think your Representative is likely to vote for Federal aid, ask him to put in writing whether he believes Federal aid will eventually bring Federal control—piously telling you that there is a provision in the bill that no Federal control will be permitted. SAVE THAT LETTER. In a few years, photostats of that letter may prove that that Congressman is either a fool or a knave. In either case, he deserves defeat.

Senators *For* the Bill

NORTHERN DEMOCRATS Voted For (34)—ALASKA, Bartlett; ARIZONA, Hayden; CALIFORNIA, Engle; COLORADO, Carroll; HAWAII, Long; IDAHO, Church; ILLINOIS, Douglas; INDIANA, Hartke; MAINE, Muskie; MASSACHUSETTS, Smith; MICHIGAN, Hart and McNamara; MINNESOTA, Humphrey; MISSOURI, Long and Symington; MONTANA, Mansfield and Metcalf; NEVADA, Bible and Cannon; NEW JERSEY, Williams; NORTH DAKOTA, Burdick; OHIO, Young; OKLAHOMA, Monroney; OREGON, Morse; PENNSYLVANIA, Clark; RHODE ISLAND, Pastore and Pell; UTAH, Moss; WASHINGTON, Jackson and Magnuson; WEST VIRGINIA, Byrd and Randolph; WISCONSIN, Proxmire; WYOMING, McGee.

Paired For (3)—ALASKA, Gruening; NEW MEXICO, Anderson; OREGON, Neuberger.

Announced For (3)—MINNESOTA, McCarthy; NEW MEXICO, Chavez; OKLAHOMA, Kerr.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS Voted For (7)—ALABAMA, Hill; FLORIDA, Smathers; NORTH CAROLINA, Ervin and Jordan; TENNESSEE, Gore and Kefauver; TEXAS, Yarborough.

Paired For (2)—ALABAMA, Sparkman; ARKANSAS, Fulbright.

REPUBLICANS Voted For (8)—CALIFORNIA, Kuchel; HAWAII, Fong; KENTUCKY, Cooper; MAINE, Smith; NEW JERSEY, Case; NEW YORK, Javits; VERMONT, Aiken; WISCONSIN, Wiley.

Paired For (2)—KANSAS, Carlson; VERMONT, Prouty.

Senators *Against* the Bill

NORTHERN DEMOCRATS Voted Against (3)—CONNECTICUT, Dodd; OHIO, Lausche; WYOMING, Hickey.

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS Voted Against (9)—FLORIDA, Holland; GEORGIA, Russell; LOUISIANA, Ellender and Long; MISSISSIPPI, Eastland and Stennis; SOUTH CAROLINA, Johnston and Thurmond; VIRGINIA, Byrd.

Paired Against (4)—ARKANSAS, McClellan; GEORGIA, Talmadge; TEXAS, Blakley; VIRGINIA, Robertson.

REPUBLICANS Voted Against (22)—ARIZONA, Goldwater; COLORADO, Allott; DELAWARE, Boggs and Williams; IDAHO, Dworshak; ILLINOIS, Dirksen; INDIANA, Capehart; IOWA, Miller; KANSAS, Schoeppel; KENTUCKY, Morton; MARYLAND, Beall and Butler; MASSACHUSETTS, Saltonstall; NEBRASKA, Curtis and Hruska; NEW HAMPSHIRE, Bridges; NEW YORK, Keating; NORTH DAKOTA, Young; PENNSYLVANIA, Scott; SOUTH DAKOTA, Case and Mundt; UTAH, Bennett.

Paired Against (3)—CONNECTICUT, Bush; IOWA, Hickenlooper; NEW HAMPSHIRE, Cotton.

Recapitulation

	For	Against
Northern Democrats	40	3
Southern Democrats	9	13
Republicans	10	25
	59	41

Why I Opposed the Bill

By Senator Allen J. Ellender (D.-La.)

Section 112 of the Senate-passed Federal aid-to-education bill provides for the application of the Davis-Bacon Act in fixing wages for school construction. In addition to granting the Secretary of Labor all necessary authority to administer the act, the section further provides:

"The State education agency of each state SHALL take such steps as SHALL be necessary to assure that the wage standards required above SHALL be set out in each project advertisement for bids and in each bid proposal form and SHALL be made a part of the contract covering the project."

This particular provision grants the Secretary of Labor the power to tell a local school board what wages it must pay when building a local school . . . .

Almost without exception, the wage rates have been determined on the scale paid in our large metropolitan cities. In fact, on more than one occasion I have pointed out that they are determined on a nationwide basis, irrespective of the original intent of the law, which was to be that of the prevailing rate within the locality of the contract.

Over and beyond this first step in the path toward Federal control contained within the bill itself, is the fact that if rural parishes [Louisiana's term for counties] are forced to pay big city wages for school construction, it means spending more money for fewer classrooms.

This, of course, is just one more example of why I am opposed to the Federal Aid to Education measures.

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JFK Alienates the Press

By Walter Trohan

ICY BLASTS of deception and favoritism have put the chill on the honeymoon of President Kennedy and the press.

No other President was ushered into the White House with such fanfare of gamboling verbs and glowing adjectives as the President who squeezed through the White House doors on the slimmest of popular margins in this century. In recent weeks, however, a reaction has set in and critical notes are being voiced from coast to coast.

False information was fed out about Cuba, not only on details of the ill-fated invasion, but also on responsibility for the fiasco. Favoritism was demonstrated by the releasing of the first hint of the impending meeting with Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev to the radio-TV pet.

President Kennedy has made it clear that his whole attitude toward the press can be summed up in the phrase, "If you're not with me; you're against me." This attitude is reflected by his news staff, who play favorites. In other recent administrations every effort was made to be strictly impartial in the release of White House news and the friendliest of relations were cultivated with reporters representing the loyal opposition, of which former President Eisenhower had more than his share.

President Kennedy is highly sensitive to the press. He has long been so. During the campaign he frequently called reporters to deliver praise or blame, but the calls generally were provoked by criticism. He is particularly partial to TV programs that portray him as a dynamo. He goes out of his way to compliment TV reporters who have played a role in producing such shows.

Once he approached a high network official to protest the shift of a favored TV reporter. The network considered the shift a promotion but the President told the executive that while the new man appeared to be all right, he couldn't call up the White House and ask, "Jack, what about this or that?" as his predecessor had been encouraged to do.

No other President has encouraged a first-name basis with the news media, even in private. Most Presidents have barred this form of address even from their most intimate friends as something required by the dignity of the office. Intimates have resorted to such titles as "chief" or "boss."

The President and his staff have been quick to anger over unfavorable columns. The President recently charged up to a magazine reporter to denounce in unprintable language a story which attempted to assess the cost of his legislative programs.

The White House left a bad taste in the mouths of the press corps by the handling of the tractor ransom for Cuban rebel prisoners. When the plan was announced the White House pretended to know nothing about it. Later it was disclosed that the President had instigated the deal and still later he urged American citizens to contribute to the blackmail.

When the new President came into the White House, his press admirers were chanting hosannas on his handling of news sessions. Then the President began fumbling on his answers and finally began cancelling news sessions, now having skipped three weeks in a row.

The President, who had criticized his predecessor for too much golf, tried to hide his playing by forbidding photographers to take pictures of him with a club in his hands. He has encouraged censorship of the military and other departments. He has also toyed with the idea of voluntary or semi-voluntary censorship of the press on security, but has been unable to decide on a program.

Not all of the cooling on the part of the press is due to devotion to news. Some of it stems from jealousy at not being included among the elect. Reporters who have not been included in Presidential golf foursomes or who have not been able to bag the White House lion for dinner parties in their homes may have been inspired to criticism because they are not of the Kennedy kingdom of the elect.

The Gold Standard

The best booklet backing the gold standard has been put out by the Mohave Chamber of Commerce, Kingman, Arizona. The title is "Your Disappearing Dollar"—10 cents apiece—minimum order $1.

This item was previously carried in the May 26 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, but inadvertently Tucson was identified as the source of the booklet rather than Kingman.

'Welfare' Expenditures

Montana's young (36) freshman Republican Representative James F. Battin is making a hit with candid observations about goings on in the Nation's Capital, to wit:

"Three thousand new Federal employees will be added to the payrolls of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare as a result of an appropriation bill calling for the expenditure in the next fiscal year of $4½ billion. You might be interested in knowing that part of the money spent in the past year under such an appropriation, namely $89,000, was spent by the Public Health Service to make a study and report on people's behavior at cocktail parties. In addition to that, a $33,100 grant to a foreign country financed a study which was described as a 'test of the husband wife relationship' and which covered both 'intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects' of this relationship. God bless the taxpayer."

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Who Are the Jobless?

From the Wall Street Journal

UNEMPLOYMENT is the subject of much somber talk these days, as well it should be. Workers who want to work but cannot find jobs have a claim upon the nation's concern and compassion. But do we really know what we're talking about when we discuss "the unemployed?"

In his comprehensive survey of the unemployment picture in this newspaper recently, Mr. Soderlind reported the case of the 22-year-old unemployed Pittsburgh typist. She's signed up with the state unemployment office; the Labor Department in Washington counts her among the estimated 4.9 million jobless in mid-April. But she hasn't "bothered approaching any offices direct because my friends say there isn't much hiring being done now." Besides, she adds, "my husband is working so there is nothing desperate about my getting a job."

Few Americans, we think, would consider this typist "unemployed" in the same sense as the jobless steel worker or coal miner who must support a family. How many others are there like her?

Or take those who have been laid off but who do not look for new jobs because they expect to be recalled. It is certainly their choice, but should the exercise of their choice not to work make them the subject of national concern?

Or consider the situation illustrated by Mr. Soderlind's look at the maid problem in Chicago. The state employment office there lists openings for 156 maids, yet includes 199 maids on its jobless rolls. For a variety of reasons, including refusal of the pay offered, the vacancies go unfilled and the maids remain "unemployed."

Clearly, there is something wrong with a counting method which lumps together those who are unemployed by choice and those who are jobless as the result of circumstances. The Government estimates unemployment each month by interviewing 35,000 families in 333 areas. It is much like a public opinion poll. Indeed, those interviewed decide for themselves whether they are out of work and seeking employment. And even if they "believe" no jobs are available in their community, regardless of whether they actually looked, they are counted as "unemployed."

Any such broad sampling technique is open to error. The Labor Department's definition of unemployment and the questions asked to uncover it exert a clear bias in favor of overstatement.

It's interesting to note the results of Sweden's experiment with US sampling techniques in 1959. Interviewing under the broad American definition turned up 136,000 jobless Swedes. In contrast, the customary Swedish method of having jobless workers register at state offices produced 47,000 unemployed. Perhaps this country should consider counting its unemployed after they register and are asked relevant questions about their job-seeking.

Whatever the best method may be, the use of an extremely loose definition of unemployment is plainly unfair to the truly needy. It can also push the country as a whole into dubious and disproportionate remedies. The prevailing belief in Washington is that when unemployment is reported to be an arbitrary percentage of the labor force, massive new Federal programs must start automatically.

But sound domestic policies cannot be based on shaky statistics and unrealistic definitions. Nor can the nation hope to understand its unemployment problem so long as it is in the dark about who the genuinely jobless are, and how many there really are.

Congressman Pelly's Taped Interview—$8

"Backdoor spending"—$1.7 billion spent without the authorization of Congress—is the subject of this week's CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW with Congressman Thomas M. Pelly of Washington's 1st District. Elected for his fifth term in Congress with 70 per cent of the vote, Mr. Pelly details the dangers of backdoor spending, and the efforts being made to stop it.

PELLY

This 12½-minute tape-recorded interview is the thirteenth in the 1961 series of HUMAN EVENTS CONGRESSIONAL INTERVIEW.

The price for single interviews is $8. If you enter an order for one interview a month the price is $6, one a week $5. $1 is refunded for each tape returned.

Other interviews which you may wish to have are listed below. They are the first twelve weekly interviews in the 1961 Series:

1. John H. Rousselot (R.-Calif.)
2. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio)
3. William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.)
4. Peter A. Garland (R.-Maine)
5. Bruce Alger (R.-Texas)
6. Donald C. Bruce (R.-Ind.)
7. Harold R. Collier (R.-Ill.)
8. Richard H. Poff (R.-Va.)
9. Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.)
10. Henry C. Schadeberg (R.-Wisc.)
11. John J. Rhodes (R.-Ariz.)
12. Edgar W. Hiestand (R.-Calif.)

The 12½-minute length of these interviews makes them ideal for a 15-minute radio program. Many serve as the weekly highlight of organization meetings.

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The Texas Tower Victory

How it Happened---What it Portends

THE VICTORY of 35-year old Republican John G. Tower for the United States Senate in Texas hit the Nation's Capital like an H-bomb. The 5 foot 5 Professor of History and Political Science from Midwestern University, Wichita Falls, Texas, got a majority of only 10,000 out of about 900,000 votes; nevertheless, he has already earned the title of Jack the Giant Killer.

TOWER

In a state which has had its share of demagogs, Tower's secret weapon was Integrity. He took a forthright stand on every controversial issue; then to avoid any further doubt, he labeled himself a "Goldwater Republican."

Little else than the Tower victory has been talked about among the professionals in Washington. They usually start asking about the intriguing possibilities of a two-party system in Texas and other Southern states; they end up discussing its impact upon the attitudes of wavering Southern Congressmen toward pending New Frontier legislation.

Until the Texas election, some Southern legislators had been toying with the idea of giving their votes to the Administration in exchange for patronage, pork barrel, and defense contracts. Now they are wondering whether, under extreme provocation, an aroused electorate in their districts might not take revenge at the next election.

"Tower" may become a horrible word to politicians who have been playing a double game—talking one way at home, voting another way in Washington. With the example of this Texas miracle before them, they can imagine a candidate backed by a hundred or a thousand angry volunteers turning things upside down in their own and a dozen other districts. If voters are no longer frozen into the old party molds, the issue of loyalty to fundamental American principles may become a threat to incumbents who have thought they could safely flaunt the wishes of their constituency.

Nightmares like this being conjured up by liberal Congressmen in Washington may revise the boundaries of the New Frontier.

The *Wall Street Journal* said before the election that if Tower won, it would push the Republican party 10 years ahead in Texas. Amplifying that statement, Peter O'Donnell, Dallas County Republican Chairman, said on the day after the election:

"We have shown to young people that if they want to run for office, they have a chance in the Republican party. Heretofore, young people with political aspirations have gone into the Democratic party because it offered them the only chance to win political office. If they were conservative, they aligned themselves with the conservative Democrats. If they were liberal, with the liberal faction.

"But now, talented young men and women aiming for public service and having conservative inclinations will label themselves Republican, knowing they will feel themselves more comfortable there. I predict that in 1962, there will be a number of attractive young Republican candidates in all parts of the state running for both legislative as well as congressional seats. And I predict similar beginnings will occur elsewhere in the South."

The Tower drama began 15 months ago. The Republican party was desperately hunting for somebody willing to oppose Lyndon Johnson for re-election to his third Senate term. No hope of beating Lyndon could be offered, merely a chance to promote Republicanism.

Thad Hutcheson, State GOP Chief, asked Tower by phone to accept the nomination. Tower replied, "Can't you get somebody else?" Hutcheson said, "Nobody else we want will take it.

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We're depending upon you." After some thought, Tower agreed to make the run.

The State Legislature had rigged the election laws so Lyndon Johnson could run for the Presidency or Vice Presidency and at the same time run for re-election to the Senate.

Few Texans expected Lyndon to win the Presidential nomination; almost nobody dreamed he would take second place. That unexpected decision provided the springboard. Hosts of Texans were outraged. Tower popularized the slogan: "Double your pleasure; double your fun —scratch Lyndon twice!" (Vote once against Lyndon by voting for Nixon-Lodge; vote a second time against Lyndon by voting for Tower.)

As a consequence, Tower amazed the nation, the state—and himself—by getting 41½ per cent against Lyndon's 58½ per cent. The highest previous percentage that a Republican candidate in a comparable race ever obtained was the 25.1 per cent that Thad Hutcheson obtained in the Senate race of 1957.

BECOMING VICE PRESIDENT, Lyndon resigned his Senate seat and Governor Price Daniel gave the interim appointment to William A. Blakley who had filled a similar interim post in 1957. A special election to fill out the Johnson term was called for April. By law, this would be a free-for-all—no party designation. If the high man got 50 plus per cent, he became Senator. Otherwise, there would be a run-off between the two highest.

Seventy-three candidates filed, but 67 entered the race solely for the personal publicity and altogether got only four per cent of the votes.

Of the four non-conservatives, the favorites were James C. Wright, Jr., Congressman from Fort Worth, and Will Wilson, Attorney General, who had never lost a state-wide race. Both were semi-liberals who, if elected, would follow the Johnson-Rayburn voting pattern. It was regarded as certain that one of these two men would emerge as first or second.

Blakley was given the edge to become the conservative to enter the run-off.

Tower's chances, whether he got into the run-off or not, were considered so poor that the Tower managers had to devote most of their pre-primary energies to begging for money. There were times when they lacked funds to cover office expenses, to say nothing about money for broadcast time, billboards, or newspaper space. Pleas for contributions were urgently sent to Republicans outside of Texas—which brought the incredulous response:

"If a Texas Republican candidate for the US Senate can't raise money in his own state, the state of multi-millionaires, it must be because he can't win. I'm not throwing my money down that drain."

So the Tower forces had to do without.

The returns from the primary provided some encouragement, though less than outside observers thought.

Tower was No. 1 in the race, but the fact noted by the politicians was that he got only 31 per cent of the total. The combined opposition —the Democratic candidates—got 69 per cent. Worst of all, his opponent was the ultra-conservative William A. Blakley, the incumbent Senator, one of the richest men in America, the outspoken enemy of nearly every New Frontier program. Republicans had been hoping that if Tower got into the run-off, his opponent would be one of the liberals. Since Texas was a conservative state, Tower's chance—perhaps his only chance—would be in a straight-out liberal versus conservative contest. But Blakley as the alternate choice seemed to most Texas pros to foreshadow almost certain defeat for Tower.

The explanation of that opinion began with a description of the 3-wing composition of the Texas Democratic party: (1) the labor-liberals; (2) the conservatives; (3) the state Machine.

The liberal faction in Texas is led by Senator Yarborough, a Kefauver-type left-winger, and Mrs. Frankie Randolph, well-to-do former National Committeewoman who had played an important role in making her home city, Houston, a liberal stronghold until a couple of years ago.

The liberals, who have their own organization within the Democratic party—DOT for "Democrats of Texas"—appeal almost exclusively to the labor vote, Negro vote, the Latin vote, and the liberal intellectuals in the colleges—counting upon the "brass collar" vote to give them the required majority. "Brass collar" is a Texas expression for

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the large mass of Texas voters who "will stand for anything except voting Republican." This vote is especially strong in East Texas which was originally settled by migrants from the Old South.

The liberal bloc has a special aversion for Lyndon Johnson. Its loathing is not for his voting record. Lyndon rated 10 per cent in the ACA-Index, actually 1 percentage point more liberal than Kennedy's 11 per cent. It was very close to Wayne Morse's 5 per cent, Estes Kefauver's 6 per cent, and Paul Douglas' 15 per cent.

The liberals detest Lyndon because he is "a pure politician"—one who will support Blakley if it will help keep the Democratic party together. The liberals would like, even at the cost of losing an occasional election, to preserve the Democratic party as an instrument of unadulterated liberalism.

The attitude of the conservative wing of the party was exemplified by the press. All the major metropolitan dailies, without exception, supported Blakley. The conservative rationale was that Texas is a Democratic state and will be Democratic for many years to come. Given the premise that the Democratic party will continue in office for all of the foreseeable future, the conclusion of these conservatives is that as many as possible of their own kind must be placed up high in the leadership. Getting men like Blakely into dominant spots must be done if the party ruling the state is not to pass into the hands of the labor-liberals.

The state Machine is controlled by Rayburn, Johnson and Governor Price Daniel; its full strength was put behind Blakley. Its leaders are not conservatives, but they want above all to keep the party intact. They give-and-take on the issues whenever that is necessary to elect Democrats to office. Principles, if they have any, are always subordinated to the maintenance of party power.

The lengths to which the Machine will go was shown during the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential campaign. The Johnson-Rayburnites delivered their ultimatum to the oil industry in essentially the following language:

"What do you big oil men gain by supporting Nixon? He has promised you retention of the 27½ per cent oil depletion allowance. If he wins, you're okay. BUT WHAT IF KENNEDY WINS? Then you'll need friends. My God, how you'll need friends! So here's the layout. You support the Democrats and see that Texas goes Democratic; then we'll go to bat for you. But if Texas goes for Nixon, and the election goes for Kennedy, you can all go to hell! DON'T COME AROUND THEN ASKING US FOR FAVORS."

Lyndon Johnson delivered an earful of this kind of philosophy in one 23-word sentence, uttered on May 25th. It was two days before the Blakley-Tower election. Lyndon was talking to the National Press Club in Washington; one of the questions sent up to him asked him to forecast the winner.

Lyndon's reply (exact quote): "I think Texans are too intelligent to send a Republican Senator to deal with a Congress two-thirds Democratic and a Democratic Administration."

Now let's spell out the last-minute warning which those 23 explosive words were intended to convey to the people of Texas.

Sending a man to Congress is not a matter of political principles but of "making deals." A Senator from Texas can wield tremendous influence. He represents a big and powerful state that now has 22 votes in the House and will have 23 after the 1962 election and will have 25 votes in the 1964 Electoral College. That influence can be used "to get things" for Texas. But a Senator can do little or nothing for Texas if he does not have an "in" with the party in power.

If this standard "What's there in it for me?" is sound, then obviously every state in its own interest must cast 100 per cent of its vote in 1962 for the Democrats because the Administration which dispenses $80-odd billions of dollars and makes all of the appointments will be in power until January 20, 1965.

In the Tower-Blakley campaign just ended, the Johnson-Rayburn dictum to the Big Money was phrased about as follows—after all the double-talk had been screened out.

"You want, do you not, to keep all the military bases and all those defense con-

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tracts that Texas is loaded up with? Some of you want big urban renewal appropriations from Washington to rebuild the value of your run-down property in downtown blighted areas. Well, then, remember that next to the President, Mr. Sam and Lyndon are the Big Boys in Washington. They don't like being crossed. Better do what Mr. Sam and Lyndon tell you."

Fat cats all over Texas sat down and signed their checks for the contributions stipulated.

Faced with this kind of opposition, the Tower people got only minor support—financial and otherwise—from the Moguls. Hundreds of secondary figures in business and finance and independent oil producers wrote checks, but the major source of revenue was the "little people." Typical of thousands who without being solicited gave to the limit was a South Texas housewife who wrote HUMAN EVENTS that she had emptied her savings account to pay for 20 one-minute Spanish language radio spots to answer the Machine-circulated lie that poll-tax receipts marked "Democratic" would not be valid for persons intending to vote for a "Republican."

The tens of thousands of volunteers whose doorbell ringing put Tower over came from the non-moneyed groups.

The most vigorous precinct activity came from young people throughout the state, increasingly turning against the welfarist philosophy which deprives "have-nots" of the opportunity to become "haves." Strong support came from the thrifty, self-reliant middle classes who are revolted by the way liberal politicians cater exclusively to the blocs which believe that the government—rather than their own efforts—should give them everything they want.

These groups who became foot soldiers for Tower did not ask whether the young professor could win. They plunged into the fight to do their part regardless of what the outcome might be.

THE COUNTIES containing the five biggest cities (Houston, Dallas, Ft. Worth, San Antonio, and El Paso) all cast majorities for Tower.

The most astonishing result was in Harris County (Houston, the state's largest city) which went 2 to 1 for Tower. Only three or four years ago, Houston was dominated by Mrs. Frankie Randolph and rated as a liberal stronghold. Today it is challenging Dallas as the capital of Texas conservatism.

West of Fort Worth—"where the West begins"—there is a young and vigorous population which cast its majority for Tower. West Texas "thinks Western."

The areas that went for Blakley consisted of the cities smaller than the big five beginning with Austin and Waco, and East Texas with its heavy "brass collar" vote.

Even though recognizing all the frailties in the victory, Republicans see great hopes for the future.

Within 48 hours after the Tower victory, Texas Republicans—many for the first time thinking of themselves as Republicans—were talking about entering strong candidates in the 1962 congressional races, particularly in districts now represented by liberals.

The split between the Yarborough liberals and the two other wings in the Democratic party is an important element in their thinking.

The wounds within the Democratic party are now very deep. Hatred for the Yarborough-Randolph liberal bloc is building up. The Rayburn-Johnson element can hardly conceal its fury over Yarborough whom it has never liked anyway. There is certain to be a Machine-supported candidate against Yarborough in 1964; if the latter wins the Democratic nomination, the party hierarchy, though officially supporting him, will not be unhappy if he loses the election.

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